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S P E E C H

OF

GEN. HIRAM WALBRIDGE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CONVENTION OF THE WAR DEMOCRACY,

AT

Cooper Institute, New York, Tuesday, November 1, 1864.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The two conflicting systems of civilization which have silently encountered each other, since the origin of the government, met in deadly strife at the assault on Sumter. Already the varying success of three and a half years of war demonstrate the result as certain at no distant day, and that the cause of constitutional government is to prevail. Yet the intensity of the struggle, and the duration of the conflict, depends in a great degree upon the action of the people of the North at the approaching Presidential election.

Thoroughly impressed with this conviction, and recognizing the claims of country paramount to all party obligations, I find my warrant of authority for being here in the magnitude of the issues involved, and the mighty consequences to result from the success or defeat of the Union cause.

If any other incentive was necessary, it could be found in the rapidly developing disloyal policy of those who, at a crisis like the present, are dragging from its once former proud position that grand old Democratic organization to which it has hitherto been our pride to belong.

Here, by our united counsels, and an honest interchange of opinion, let us endeavor to maintain that organization on the side of the country, of justice, of Christianity, and of intellectual and moral excellence.

TEACHINGS OF HISTORY.

If the great contest to which the energies of the friends of constitutional government are now directed seems gigantic, let us fully realize that every people who have become a first-class nation have been obliged to pass through our present experience before the refractory elements in their political system have been reduced to order. This is universal history. It took centuries for Rome to subdue the discordant elements in Italy; England, many generations to lay the foundations of her subsequent prosperity; and France also, for centuries, was engaged in civil strife, before her society and government were placed on any substantial basis.

The disturbing element in our political system, after having controlled, by far, the greater portion of our national legislation since the adoption of the Constitution, had at last the temerity to strike at the national life, by which, on the ruins of our republic, it hoped, in this Christian age, to found a new nation, where, in the language of the rebel Vice-President Stephens, human slavery was to be the corner-stone.

One great truth is deduced from all this experience. Each nationality improves upon that which preceded it, and when the American people have passed through their existing afflictions, they will emerge stronger and better qualified to take their legitimate position as a first-class power among the nations of the earth.

RESULTS DESIRED.

Let us, then, inquire what are the results desired by those who are in arms against the constitutional government—the reasons they allege for their mad and wicked ambition—the evils that would ensue to the human race if they should succeed, and the bearing the pending Presidential struggle has upon their endeavors. We shall thereby more plainly perceive

our duty, and each man can determine for himself his individual action in this crisis of our country's fate.

The loyal American people are engaged in a struggle to prevent the disintegration of the Republic, and while our heroic soldiers in the field are periling their lives to maintain the national integrity, they have a just right to demand that the executive administration of the government passes into no hands that shall make all their past sacrifices useless, and cause their future efforts to be of no avail. But we are to act not on behalf of the living alone. From more than three hundred thousand still green and unsodded graves there comes an unbroken voice demanding that the cause of constitutional government shall not be abandoned until this accursed rebellion is crushed, the Constitution again thoroughly established, and peace and tranquility again restored throughout the length and breadth of the land.

If the struggle has thus far been arduous and our reverses often severe, still there is abundant ground for congratulation and hope, as we behold the steady and persistent advance of our armies over the rebellious states, and as we realize that the higher civilization sooner or later subdues the weaker, and that enough has already transpired to demonstrate that our victorious legions will never turn backwards while an institution exists which subjects the master to no restraint but his own will, and which thereby makes him impatient of that necessary restraint on which society alone can exist, and without the observance of which well-regulated constitutional government could not endure.

This unlimited license for power on the part of the rebellious leaders of the insurgent States produced the existing rebellion. Let us candidly examine the demands made in its behalf.

DEMANDS OF THE REBELS.

The rebel President Davis alleges that the South is fighting for independence, and that they desire no official communication with the constitutional Government of the Union, which will not recognize their separate nationality.

THE WAR DEMOCRACY.

The War Democracy, here, this day, with a full knowledge of the responsibility bending over them, in this august presence of the people, place themselves irrevocably upon record in favor of prosecuting this war for the purpose of maintaining intact the integrity of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and for the purpose of upholding free representative constitutional government. It must be prosecuted for the purpose of resisting the very object sought to be secured by the rebel President, when he declares they are fighting for their independence; otherwise, we must concede that the American Government has proved the most stupendous failure in either ancient or modern times. For, if this principle of disintegration is to be permitted, and States, at their will and pleasure, are at liberty to sever their federal allegiance, then the Government of the United States, which so recently commanded the respect of its citizens at home, as well as the respect and confidence of nations abroad, will be found to have been a government which, for seventy years of apparent prosperity, cherished within itself the elements of its own overthrow, and the American Constitution an instrument which enabled a part of the people to prostrate the liberties of the whole. It is monstrous to believe that the men who laid broad and deep the foundations of our representative American Government could have believed any contingency could arrive, even in the vicissitudes of the future, when men in the exercise of their reason would publicly proclaim their right to break up the government. Often, in the history of the past, have governments been overthrown by hostile forces and the power of hostile nations. But it is nowhere recorded that any government was ever instituted which contemplated in its origin that the people who owed allegiance to it should be permitted, at their will and pleasure, to destroy it.

THE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION.

The right of revolution we recognize—it is a right as ancient as that of the human family. But revolutions are always preceded by grievances, real or imaginary. Our fathers exercised this right of revolution when they proclaimed their declaration of independence. But they had real grievances to redress. They had been denied the right of representation, although severely taxed; they had been denied all participation in the action of the government, which assumed to define their duties and prescribe their obligations. They had, by the mother country, been obliged to foster an institution within their limits which they themselves, at that early day, recognized, at some future period, was to be a source of unnumbered misfortunes. They charged that the home government stimulated the cupidity of the blood-thirsty savage, whose known mode of warfare, on the frontier, was an indiscriminate slaughter of helpless women and defenceless babes. These and numerous other grievances justified their action in severing their alliance with the parent government, and appealing to the arbitrament of the sword. They carried with them the moral sympathies of the world.

NO JUST CAUSE FOR REBELLION.

What are the facts in reference to the action of the General Government in its dealings with the South? Where, upon any page of our federal legislation, had any act of injustice been done by the General Government towards the South? Where had a single specific act of legislation inimical to their interests been passed? Congress had only indulged in general laws, operating as well upon the North as on the South. It is alleged that in the North many persons were hostile to the social institutions of the South; but did that, thereby, endow them with the right to attempt to overthrow the Government, since the whole theory of our political system recognizes the right of speech and the toleration of opinion? If the Northern citizens had no sympathy with the social institutions of the South, and gave free expression to their conviction, did it not encounter equal hostility of expression on the part of the citizens of the South, who contended that Northern society was necessarily debased and corrupted, since here there existed no superior class independent of labor, similar to the class which exercised irresistible power in the South, and who held in subjection their dependent slaves? This toleration of opinion had been permitted ever since the origin of the Government; but it nowhere interfered with the legislation of the country. Let us listen to the unanswerable arguments of Vice-President Stephens, when he implored the people of Georgia to hesitate long and well before they plunged the country into civil war, and let us note how accurately his predictions have been verified:

TESTIMONY OF HON. A. H. STEPHENS.

"Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reason you can give that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments—what reasons can you give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us? What reasons can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in this case; and to what cause or *one* overt act can you point on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? and what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong deliberately and purposely done by the Government at Washington of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer! While, on the other hand, let me show the facts (and believe me, gentlemen, I am not here the advocate of the North, but I am here the friend, the firm friend and lover of the South and her institutions; and for this reason I speak thus plainly, and faithful to *yours, mine*, and every other man's interest, the words of truth and soberness,) of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable, and which now stand as records authentic in the history of our country.

"When we of the South demanded the slave trade or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution? and again ratified and strengthened in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850?

"Do you reply that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individuals and local communities they may have done so; but not by the sanction of Government, for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen, look at another fact: when we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands and given us Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, out of which four States have been carved, and ample territory for four more to be added in due time, if you, by this unwise and impolitic act, do not destroy this hope, and, perhaps, by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, by the vindictive decree of a universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow?

"But, again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the General Government? We have always had the control, and can yet if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive Department."

If the Government of the United States had quietly acquiesced in the demand thus unjustly put forth, it would have been unworthy of the respect of its own citizens, and more unworthy still the respect of foreign States. President Davis alleges he is fighting for independence. The War Democracy declare they are fighting to prevent the disintegration of Republican government. Let this conviction at once seize hold of the public mind, and our patriotic armies will be replenished; our recruiting stations will be filled, and the necessary enthusiasm to carry on this war to a successful termination will be manifested, as the people in every portion of the Union recognize that this struggle is to be perpetuated until the constitutional republican Government is restored over every portion of the American territory, as that government existed when this rebellion began.

REBEL ANTICIPATIONS.

The rebellious leaders of the insurgent States, from the commencement of the struggle, anticipated a revolution in public sentiment in the North that would inure to their benefit. Hence, during these long bloody desolating years since the inauguration of the rebellion, they have confidently looked forward to the support of the people in the free States in the approaching Presidential election. When we realize that no single declaration has ever been made by any one in authority, in the Southern States, which looked for any action that would be responsive to their wishes but separation, we may thoroughly comprehend that they hope, through the agency of the ballot-box, to see elevated to power in the North a party who shall be willing to recognize their independence, and thus accomplish the overthrow of

the American Union, the disintegration of the American States, and the subversion of the American Constitution.

CHICAGO CONVENTION.

The action of the Chicago Convention, if confirmed by the majority of electors, by recommending a cessation of hostilities, the rebels recognize as tantamount to the recognition of their independence; and hence, no sooner was the Chicago platform announced, than shouts of exultation and joy were heard all along the Rebel lines; and the Rebel President is now endeavoring to recruit his shattered and depleted legions by urging the absenteers to return to the ranks, and promising them that, if fresh victories shall crown their efforts, the peace party at the North can elect its candidate.

I was among the number who anticipated the action of the Chicago Convention might eventuate in developing a loyal sentiment that would make the North a unit on the prosecution of the war; but the leaders who had control there had impressed their disloyalty upon the organization under their control, and nothing remains for any patriotic man to do except to plant himself firmly on the Union platform, and advocate the success of the Union nominees, unless he desires to remain the member of a political organization whose success is contingent upon the success of the Rebels who have taken up arms to overthrow the Republic.

We did not abandon the hope of seeing the Democratic party range itself unreservedly on the side of the country. Even after its misgilded action at Chicago, we thought the rising indignation of the loyal Democratic masses, at the base surrender of their leaders, would compel them to reconsider and repudiate their odious platform; but we were mistaken.

Although the wrath of the people for a period made the leaders hesitate, they have now recovered their position, and, unfortunately, to-day the elements that direct and control the old Democratic organization are practically arraying themselves against the best interests of the country. This conviction is one justification for our present course, and this vast assemblage of our fellow-citizens who have belonged to that organization, by their presence here this day, have borne unequivocal testimony in behalf of constitutional government and their thorough willingness to make any requisite sacrifice to perpetuate and preserve it. Like many others, we had been reared in the Democratic party—we loved its history and its traditions—we believed it important to the interests of the country to keep its policy true to the Government; and while we differed with much that had been done by it, and with most of its leaders, we still maintained our position in it, in order, if possible, to aid in making it a thorough war party.

But, unfortunately, this pernicious element, to which allusion has been made, held supreme control; and the moment any man took a high, disinterested, patriotic position, and favored sustaining the Government engaged in putting down the Rebellion, that moment he found himself no longer in sympathy with those who are assuming to give tone and direction to the old democratic organization.

DISCARDED DEMOCRATS.

When I trace the history of the last four years, the action of public measures, and its effect upon public men, my observation is confirmed in the fate of every democrat who has taken any active, prominent and conscientious position in favor of the war. We have seen Dickinson, Haight, Bancroft, Tremaine, Pierrepont, Cutting, Alvord, Griswold, Odell and Davis of our own State, Governor Coney of Maine, ex-Gov. Tod and Gov. Brough of Ohio, Secretary Stanton, Dougherty and Forney of Pennsylvania, ex-Gov. Wright of Indiana, Hamilton, Sherwood and Anderson of Texas, Johnson, Taylor and Carter of Tennessee, Grant and Murphy of Arkansas, Judge Holt of Kentucky, and thousands of others, men of like character and patriotism, members of the old democratic party in civil life, read out of it, simply because they put the claims of their country paramount to any party obligation.

We have seen Grant, Sherman, Butler, Dix, Logan, Wool, Sheridan, Rosecrans, Farragut, Hooker, Thomas, Sickles, Burnside and Cochrane, with almost every other officer in the army and navy, who had been successful against rebellion, and who had heretofore been members of the democratic party, excommunicated from it, and that generally for the very reasons offered by the Rebel press and the Rebel orators, attaching to their names the same terms employed by the Rebels, such as Beast Butler, Butcher Grant, Sherman the Barbarian, and Burbridge "the Brute."

No party can survive this attempt to ostracize from public favor such a galaxy of warriors and statesmen, who have placed their lives and services at the disposal of the government to quell this infamous rebellion; and good and true men in every section of the country will not hesitate to follow when duty leads.

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.

When your cessation of hostilities has taken place, and separation has resulted, where will we draw the line? Do you propose that the grave of Washington shall be incorporated in the Rebel Confederacy? I ask the Democratic North, if they propose that the remains of the illustrious hero of the hermitage are to rest in the soil of an alien State? Where are the

boundaries which are to separate this Union? Are the people, whose habitations are built upon the head waters of the Mississippi, in their transit to the ocean, to pass through the dominions of a hostile and foreign people? Once admit this principle of disintegration, and how long a period will transpire before a single separation shall not suffice? Do you believe that, if the South is permitted to sever its allegiance from the North and from an independent nation, that the States along the Pacific would recognize the authority of the Federal Government? Would they, too, not claim the right of separate nationality? They have within themselves all the materials of wealth, prosperity, and power. Would they not feel that their allegiance to the Federal authority at Washington was burthensome, and would not this spirit of disaffection soon lead to their separation? And when you have separated the South from the North, and the States of the Pacific have also declared their own independence, what think you will be the action of the great interior States in the valley of the Mississippi? Think you they would remain indifferent spectators while the nation was disintegrated? Whoever, for a moment, entertains this opinion, fails to comprehend the intense patriotism and high intelligence of the citizens of the valley of the Mississippi. They perfectly comprehend their mission and their destiny. They know full well, they hold within themselves the elements requisite for the formation of a great nation. But they also realize that it is far better for their interests to remain part and parcel of the Federal Union than to constitute an independent sovereignty, surrounded by petty States; and that it is inconceivably better for their interests and renown to form a constituent part of a grand republic, whose eastern and western boundaries are washed by the waters of the Pacific and the Atlantic, by the Lakes on the North and the waters of the Gulf on the South, than to be surrounded by independent nations of inconsiderable size, whose opinions in the administration of the affairs of mankind must necessarily be limited, because of their inability to enforce their decrees. Nations are respected just in proportion to their ability to enforce their sentiments upon surrounding nations, and to influence the general administration of public affairs in various quarters of the globe. As a consolidated, concentrated nation of independent State sovereignties, the influence of the American people was everywhere exercising its beneficent power abroad when this accursed rebellion began. How is it now? And how has it been since the inception of these troubles? No sooner had the Rebellion leaders of the South plunged the country into civil war than the Western powers of Europe determined to interfere in the internal administration of a sister republic. And to-day, a foreign despot, maintained by foreign bayonets, exercises material power in our sister republic, "Mexico"; while effete, decrepid old Spain, whose position among the nations of the earth had ceased to be even third or fourth rate, finds it not inconsistent with her interests, to stretch forth her authority and exercise jurisdiction on one of the West India islands, almost within sight of our coast, and in conflict with the policy which we have heretofore claimed and to which the American people are committed by sympathy and sentiment, often expressed.

DISPARITY BETWEEN THE FORCES ENGAGED.

If you could emancipate from the Southern mind the conviction that there shall be no sympathy in the North for their treason, do you believe they could have continued this struggle to the present hour? Would they not have realized that this was a question of material force? The combined strength of twenty millions of people must, sooner or later, exhaust the resources of one-third of their number. And do they not fully comprehend that, when a soldier of their army falls, his place cannot be supplied until a generation has passed, while such is, by no means, the fact in the North? The tide of emigration is not only undiminished, but is constantly augmented and increased. This unfortunate delusion of peace has been the means of filling more graves than any other sentiment that has been inculcated since the origin of the struggle. Let the South comprehend that the blessings of the Constitution, which they have sought to overthrow, still remain open to those that are willing to recognize its rightful authority; but that so long as that authority is resisted, there can be no termination to the contest, and you have taken the necessary measures to inaugurate a peace that shall be perpetual and enduring.

DUTY OF THE REAL DEMOCRACY.

What, then, remains to be done? Shall we abandon constitutional representative government? Shall we yield to a humiliating separation of these States, and the consequent overthrow of this great constitutional Union? No; heaven forbid!

Let us say to the men in arms against the constitutional Government, we recognize in the Constitution of the United States the warrant of our authority, and we declare that, until that Constitution is re-established over the American Union, there shall be no peace; and that whoever opposes that Constitution is a traitor to constitutional government, and to him we are bound to extend a traitor's doom. We seek to advance no sectional interests, to overthrow no institution that does not place itself in opposition to constitutional Government. But whatever opposes this restoration of the organic law, on which our fathers laid, broad and deep, the foundations of the American Republic, is to be overcome, if it cost ad-

ditional blood and additional treasure. Let us inaugurate greater frugality in our public expenditure. Let us proclaim to the nations abroad the policy of the Union, even if that enunciation should bring with it the additional horrors of war, with those particularly who desire to see the constitutional Government of the United States humiliated and overthrown.

HOSTILITY OF THE GREAT WESTERN POWERS.

We do not forget the ancient hostility with which the great Western powers of Europe have looked for the disintegration of these States. We are familiar with the course pursued by the British Government since the origin of our struggle, while the great masses of the English people have sympathized with the constitutional cause. We are aware that these aristocratic and governing classes are looking for the ultimate separation of these States and the overthrow of this constitutional Union. We fully realize the great desire of the Emperor of the French to see the separation of this nation, in order that he may execute with greater certainty the ambitious purpose which he has formed by the appropriation of the republic of Mexico, which, although under an Austrian prince, who nevertheless holds his position through the agency of French arms; and when he shall cease to respond to the wishes of the French Emperor, the latter will take the means of deposing him, as he has hitherto taken the means of elevating him to power.

NEUTRALITY OF UNITED STATES.

There is a deep-seated feeling on the part of the American people in reference to the course that has been pursued by these leading powers in the contest in which we are engaged. The constitutional government had a right to suppose that the English government would treat the rebellion as we have treated rebellions wherever they have existed in the British Colonies,—as we treated the revolt which shook the Canadas to such an extent that it was felt the jurisdiction of the mother country would be lost, and that these North American provinces would declare their independence. The sympathies of the American people were decidedly with those who espoused the liberal cause in Canada; but so jealous were the American people of their rights as neutrals, that the Government placed their then most accomplished soldier—Gen. Scott—in command on the northern frontier, and passed the severest regulations interdicting any interference by the citizens of the United States in the insurrection that was there inaugurated. I refer to this case particularly, since it transpired within the knowledge of the existing generation, who saw the opportunity presented to the American people to at once give way to their sympathies and accomplish the separation of these colonies from Great Britain. But no such turpitude was displayed by the American people. They felt that if the provinces of British North America, becoming wearied of English domination, had the power to overthrow that tyranny, it was their right. But it was not in accordance with good faith and national treaties for the American people in any degree to interfere. This policy of non-intervention in the conflicts of foreign States, is coeval with the existence of our Government, and was inaugurated by Washington himself. When the eminent and accomplished citizen, minister Genet, endeavored to ally the fortunes of the United States with France, about to engage in a crusade for the domination of French interests in every part of Europe, there was certainly a claim on the part of France on the gratitude of the United States; for France had, in the darkest hours of our Revolution, most generously stepped forth, and loaned to our desponding fortunes the benefit of her credit and strength and a portion of her armies. Yet such was the innate sense of justice of Gen. Washington, and such were the convictions of the American people, they refused, and justly, to be embroiled in the serious conflict that was inevitable, if they should be drawn into an alliance with France, by which they were to follow the fortunes of that country either under the Directory, or the master genius of the great Napoleon. The American people had a right to demand that the government of Great Britain should stand entirely aloof from the manifestation of any desire, on her part, for the success of the rebels, if she could not consistently lend to the Union cause the benefit of her support.

MONROE DOCTRINE IGNORED AT CHICAGO.

The only excuse for the failure on the part of the Chicago Democracy to allude to foreign affairs in its platform, was from the fact that the platform was controlled by those who, possibly, contemplated the dissolution of this Union at no distant day, and that, in such a contingency, the empire of Mexico might possibly become united in her fortunes with this Southern Confederacy, which they hoped to erect on the ruins of the constitutional Union, and as a legitimate result of the division of this country. But the American people understand this question, although their leaders seek to ignore and blink it; and at no distant day they will give full utterance to their convictions on this question; and pending that period, the statesmen of Europe will be deceived if they infer there has been any modification of the sentiments of the American people in reference to the "Monroe Doctrine," owing to our internecine strife. From the hour that doctrine was first promulgated by President Monroe, it has been a cardinal doctrine of the American people, and it will yet

be enunciated and sustained by the strength and power of the entire republic. But the Chicago Democracy declare the war has already proved a failure, and their nominee announces a desire to open negotiations which shall exhaust all the resources of statesmanship before he proceeds to ulterior consequences. Let us fully examine the facts, and then decide.

What steps had the traitors taken previous to the 4th of March, 1861, to inaugurate the rebellion and overthrow the constitutional Government, and what was the condition of affairs in the South when Fort Sumter was assailed?

South Carolina, always foremost in treason, had attempted to sever her allegiance with the Federal Government as early as the 20th of December, 1860, and how her pernicious example was followed let the following record bear its unequivocal testimony:

ACTS OF WAR PRIOR TO MR. LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION.

Dec. 25, 1860.—Sudden evacuation of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, United States army. He spikes the guns, burns the gun carriages, and retreats to Fort Sumter, which he occupies.

Dec. 27.—Capture of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney by the South Carolina troops. Captain Coste surrenders the revenue cutter Aiken.

Jan. 3, 1861.—Capture of Fort Pulaski by the Savannah troops.

Jan. 3.—The arsenal at Mt. Vernon, Ala., with 200,000 stand of arms, seized by the Alabama troops.

Jan. 9.—Fort Morgan, in Mobile Bay, taken by the Alabama troops.

Jan. 9.—The steamship Star of the West fired into and driven off by the South Carolina batteries on Morris Island. Failure of the attempt to reinforce Sumter.

Jan. 9.—Mississippi seceded; vote of convention, 84 to 39.

Jan. 10.—Forts Jackson, St. Philip, and Pike, near New Orleans, captured by the Louisiana troops.

Jan. 11.—Alabama seceded; vote of convention, 62 to 29.

Jan. 11.—Florida seceded; vote of convention, 62 to 29.

Jan. 14.—Capture of Pensacola navy-yard, and Forts Barrancas and McRae. Major Chase shortly afterwards takes command, and the siege commences.

Jan. 18.—Surrender of Baton Rouge arsenal to Louisiana troops.

Jan. 19.—Georgia seceded; vote of convention, 207 to 57.

Jan. 26.—Louisiana seceded; vote of convention, 113 to 19.

Jan. 31.—New Orleans mint and custom-house taken.

Feb. 1.—Texas seceded; vote of convention, 166 to 7; submitted to the vote of the people Feb. 28; the act took effect March 2.

Feb. 2.—Seizure of Little Rock arsenal by Arkansas troops.

Feb. 4.—Surrender of the revenue cutter Cass to the Alabama authorities.

Feb. 7.—Southern Congress met at Montgomery, Ala.

Feb. 8.—Provisional Constitution adopted.

Feb. 9.—Jefferson Davis, of Miss., and Alexander H. Stephens, of Ga., elected President and Vice-President.

Feb. 17.—Gen. Twiggs transfers public property in Texas to the State authorities. Col. Wait, U. S. A., surrenders Antonia to Col. Ben. McCulloch and his Texan Rangers.

Feb. 18.—Inauguration of President Davis at Montgomery, Ala.

Feb. 18.—Peace Congress adjourned at Washington, having accomplished nothing.

March 2.—The revenue cutter Dodge seized by the Texas authorities.

March 4, 1861.—James Buchanan left, his household having been principally broken up a little previous.

March 4, 1861.—Abraham went into the White House, and found things in a bad fix—everything going in a wrong direction, and kept on going wrong.

March 5.—Gen. Beauregard assumes command of the troops besieging Fort Sumter.

March 12.—Fort Brown, Texas, surrendered by Capt. Hill to Texas Commissioners.

March 13.—Alabama ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States; vote of convention, 87 to 6.

March 16.—Georgia ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States; vote of convention, 96 to 5.

March 21.—Louisiana ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States; vote of convention, 101 to 7.

March 25.—Texas ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States; vote of convention, 98 to 2.

March 30.—Mississippi ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States; vote of convention, 98 to 7.

April 5.—South Carolina ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States; vote of convention, 149 to 29.

April 12, 13.—Battle of Fort Sumter. After 34 hours' bombardment the Fort surrendered to the Confederate States.

April 14.—Evacuation of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson.

April 14, 1861.—Assumption and general declaration, on the part of the secessionists, that Maryland and all the slave States belonged to the Southern Confederacy; that Washington, and all the public buildings, being within Southern territory, must be captured and held.

April 14, 1861.—President Lincoln issued Proclamation calling for 75,000 men to put down the rebellion.

April 15, 1861.—Telegram received at Montgomery, Ala.; great laughter excited in the Confederate Congress at the idea of 75,000 men being able to put down the rebellion, with 250,000 Confederate troops already organized.

STRENGTH OF THE REBELLION MARCH 4TH, 1861.

Such was the condition of our public affairs when the traitors inaugurated the rebellion by their assault upon the flag at Sumter. Let us examine the declaration of the Chicago platform as to the failure of the war.

According to the tables of the last census, the States and Territories then in possession of the rebels contained the following area and population:

States and Territories.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
Maryland	11,124	657,049
Virginia	650,552	1,596,318
North Carolina	45,000	992,622
South Carolina	30,213	703,708
Georgia	58,000	1,057,286
Florida	59,268	140,125
Alabama	59,722	964,201
Mississippi	47,156	791,305
Louisiana	41,255	708,002
Texas	237,504	604,215
Arkansas	52,198	435,450
Tennessee	45,600	1,009,801
Kentucky	37,080	1,055,684
Missouri	67,350	1,340,012
New Mexico	220,000	93,516
Totals.....	1,653,852	12,121,294

PRESENT STRENGTH.

The Chicago Platform says: "*Four years of failure demand a cessation of hostilities.*" To-day the area and population of the States and Territories *now held by the rebels* may be thus estimated:

States and Territories.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
Virginia	16,352	396,318
North Carolina	35,000	842,622
South Carolina	22,213	553,708
Georgia	43,000	807,286
Florida	44,263	100,125
Alabama	38,722	764,201
Mississippi	7,156	91,365
Louisiana	11,255	208,002
Texas	97,504	454,215
Arkansas	27,198	235,450
Totals.....	342,668	4,453,232

RECAPITULATION.

States and Territories.	Square Miles.	Population.
Originally held in 15 States and Territories.....	1,653,852	12,121,294
Now held in 10 States, in part.....	342,668	4,453,232

Area Conquered	1,311,184 Square Miles.
Population Recovered	7,668,062.

In no other struggle recorded in history have more substantial advantages been gained, in the same space of time, than those which have attended the constitutional cause; and enough has transpired to prove that, if even the populations of the two sections were equal, still the elements on which each section relies to sustain them in the contest is so dissimilar, the contest must ultimately be decided in favor of the North. The Rebel leaders hoped, by the agency of cotton, to place the exchequer of Europe at their control. The constitutional Government realize that while we supply, in a great degree, the masses of Europe with food, we have a guarantee against any foreign intervention, and that, sooner or later, our superior strength and numbers must give us the victory.

FAILURE OF THE REBEL CONFEDERACY.

While we deny the assertion of the Chicago Democracy that the war has thus far proved a failure, let us inquire whether the Rebel Government itself, in view of the purposes for which it was formed, has not proved the most stupendous failure of modern times.

The rebellious leaders of the South attempted to sever all connection with the general Government because they allege their first allegiance was due to their respective States, and that the Federal Government was infringing upon their political rights; they, therefore, for the purpose of securing greater political ascendancy and additional guarantees for their individual promotion, attempted to institute the Rebel Confederacy. After three and a half years of desolating experience, what are the facts? In the recent letter of Hon. W. W. Boyce, one of the most distinguished of the rebel leaders, addressed to President Davis, urging him to second the efforts of the Chicago Platform, he says:—

Is not our Federal Government in the exercise of every possible power of a national, central, military despotism? Suppose there were no States, only provinces, and unlimited power was conferred upon you and Congress—what greater power would you exercise than you do now? Have we not carried conscription to its last limits? Is not every man in the country between 17 and 60 subject to military authority? None are exempt except upon considerations of public interest. Have we not been compelled to lay direct taxes in the very teeth of the theory of the Constitution? Have we not issued such vast amounts of paper money as to unsettle

all values? Have we not compelled the owners of our paper money to fund it, or lose one-third? Have we not seized all the railroads? Have we not destroyed railroads and built others? Have we not established a universal system of impressment of property, at our own prices, in our own money? Have we not established a Government monopoly of the exportations of the great staples of the country? Have we not compelled those whom we permit to remain at home to execute bonds to furnish their products to us at our prices? Have we not suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*? Have we not introduced the passport system, which we used to think, belonged to the iron despotism of Europe? In short, has not the Federal Government done everything that a centralized military despotism could do? Indeed, if you were appointed Military Dictator, what greater power could you exercise than you now do?

Mr. Boyce continues:—

"The Democratic party of the United States, in their recent convention at Chicago, resolved that if they attained power they would agree to an armistice and a convention of all the States, to consider the subject of peace. I think that action demands a favorable response from our Government. You are the only person who can make that response, because our Congress does not meet until after the time appointed for the Presidential election. If our Congress met in time, I should propose the action I desire taken to that body, and submit to its judgment my argument: but as that opportunity does not occur, I have no alternative but to remain silent, or address myself to you. I cannot, consistently with my ideas of duty, remain silent. I therefore address myself to you.

"This party proposes that the war shall cease, at least temporarily, and that all the States should meet in amicable council, to make peace if possible. This is the most imposing demonstration in favor of peace made at the North since the war broke out. I think our only hope of a satisfactory peace, one consistent with the preservation of free institutions, is in the supremacy of this party at some time or other. *Our policy, therefore, is to give this party all the capital we can.* You should, therefore, at once, in my opinion, give this party all the encouragement possible, by declaring your willingness to an armistice, and a convention of all the States in their sovereign capacity, to enter upon the subject of peace. The theory upon which this party goes is, that we are willing to cease hostilities, at least temporarily, and meet in council to attain peace if possible.

WHAT JEFF. DAVIS SAYS.

The Rebel President, on the contrary, desires no peace, and strenuously insists the Southern people are for extermination or independence; yet he, nevertheless, adopts the suggestions of Mr. Boyce, so far as they can be made available in filling his depleted ranks, and in an elaborate and well-matured address to the citizens of Columbia, South Carolina, he implores the deserters from the army to return, freely offering pardon to all who will do so, and adds:

There are those who, like the Israelites of old, are longing to turn back to the fleshpots they have left, who have thought there still may have been some feasible mode of reconciliation, and even be willing to rush into a reconstruction of the Union. Such, I am glad to know, do not flourish on the soil of South Carolina.

A plan of negotiation has been offered for consideration—a plan of negotiation by States. Well, it is not easy to see on what terms the States can negotiate. In the first place, they have no constitutional power to do so. In the second place, Mr. Lincoln has said that he will not negotiate with them unless they can control the army; and they can only obtain the power to control the army by traitorously attempting to enter into a treaty contrary to the government they have instituted.

Do you not all know that the only way to make spaniels civil is to whip them? And you can whip them, if all the men capable of bearing arms will do their duty by taking their places under the standard of their country before the veteran troops of the North receive the fresh increment which is being gathered in the northern states.

*Is this a time to ask what the law demands of you—to inquire whether or not you are exempt under the law, or to ask if the magistrate will take you out of the enrolling office by a writ of *habeas corpus*?*

You who have so long been the advocates of State rights have never raised a clamor against the laws which seem to invade them.

There is, then, but one means by which you can hope to gain independence and an honorable peace, and that is by uniting, with harmony, energy and determination, in fighting those great battles and achieving those great victories which will teach the world that we can defend our rights, and the Yankee nation that it is death to invade them.

Within the next thirty days much is to be done, for upon our success much depends. Within the next thirty days, therefore, let all who are absentees, or who ought to be in the army, go promptly to their ranks. Let fresh victories crown our arms, and the peace party, if there be such at the North, can elect its candidate. But whether a peace candidate is elected or not, Yankee instinct will teach him that it is better to end the war, and leave us to the enjoyment of our own rights.

Fellow-citizens, the rebel President Davis fully comprehends the importance to the rebel cause of our action. But we must decide for ourselves what that action shall be. The case is before us. Regarding the continued preservation of the Union paramount to all other earthly obligations, and believing this result thoroughly guaranteed by the success of the Union nominees at the approaching Presidential election, I shall give to them a cordial, earnest, and hearty support.

INTEREST OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

No other community has a greater interest in the decision now pending in the approaching election than the citizens of this great commercial metropolis.

The city of New York is the legitimate result of the growth of the American Union. And although it was sagely predicted at the inauguration of the rebellion that our prosperity would terminate and our streets become desolate, that prediction has failed to be verified—for trade was never more prosperous—commerce never more remunerative—all the arts and sciences rapidly developing and prosperity universal. This condition of affairs results from the unbroken conviction of the people of this city that at no distant day this civil strife is to terminate, and the Constitution is to be recognized over all the States that formerly were embraced within the Federal limits. Towards the accomplishment of such a result

they have poured out men and money without measure and without stint—no sacrifice has been too great to meet with a ready acquiescence on their part, and no demand can be too great not to secure a willing response so long as we struggle to perpetuate the American Union, and against the malicious attempt to overthrow these American States. If there be one sentiment more thoroughly grounded in the American heart than all others, it is that these States shall never be divided—this Union shall never be destroyed—this Constitution never overthrown. And I think it may also safely be stated that the men who have given their lives so freely, and so lavishly poured out their blood to prevent the disintegration of this Union intend to remove all obstacles that in the future may be tortured so as to renew the strife. If the growth of the American Union and the prosperity of this commercial metropolis are identical, the causes which have produced it are perfectly legitimate. Here are concentrated those vast lines of oceanic travel, which, reaching to every part of the habitable globe, bear the surplus products of distant states and provinces into our harbor, from whence they are borne by our internal means of communication to the remotest portions of the republic. Here the foreigner seeking a new home first presses his feet upon the soil of the new world before he seeks his permanent habitation in the West, where, by economy, frugality and perseverance he soon lays the foundation of wealth, prosperity, and contentment. Here too is located that intelligent and untrammeled press which moulds fashions and controls in so eminent a degree the opinions and purposes of the American people. There is a peculiar power derived from the aggregation of men into large communities; and nowhere is this power more thoroughly exemplified than in the influence of the people of the city of New York, as their sentiments are borne by electricity and the press throughout the length and breadth of the Republic. There never can be antagonism, then, between the city of New York and any portion of our extended country. We desire that every section shall prosper; but we realize there can be no prosperity or no tranquility only as that prosperity and that tranquility is guaranteed by the agency of the Federal Constitution and the respect which it is enabled to command from the people of the United States.

Fellow-citizens! I have given you some of the reasons which control my action, and they are now submitted, with a due sense of my responsibility to the judgment of my countrymen; and may God defend the right.

General WALBRIDGE was listened to with marked attention, and frequently interrupted with great applause.